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Fellowship

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RICHARD B. GREGG *Gandhian*

The Prefet's Dirty Job. by Magda Trocme

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ff Richard Gregg's picture appears on our cover this month, and an article by him, "The Structure of a Nonviolent Society," on page 9. A brief biographical sketch of him will be found on page 11. . . . Magda Trocmé, wife of European IFOR Secretary André Trocmé, describes some of the moral questions and tensions that confront people under tyranny. "The Préfet's Dirty Job" is the story of André's arrest by officials of the Petain government. . . . The "Letter from Hong Kong," by E. E. Walline, tells about life in China under the three-year-old government of the People's Republic. Dr. Walline, who represents one of the mission boards, has been in China for a good many years, and his insights into the situation there are valuable ones. His daughter Jean, who was born in China, is the wife of FOR Secretary George Houser. . . . Winburn T. Thomas writes from Java—a moving meditation in our series on "Strength for These Days" that tells of a people whose strength must indeed be great to bring them through their times of great suffering.

FELLOWSHIP

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The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 19, NUMBER 5 MAY 1953

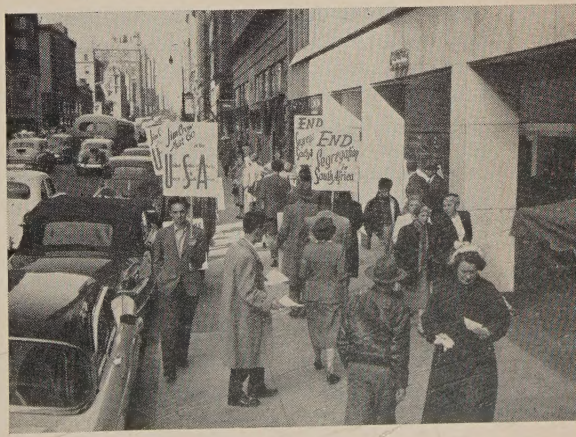
"Peace"

AS THIS ISSUE goes to press, long lines of trucks wind through the North Korean hills with the first of the sick and wounded prisoners to be transferred, General Harrison has sent an encouraging note concerning truce talks to General Nam Il, and the nation bestirs itself to welcome a peace it had given up for lost.

It is a time to remind ourselves that illusion does not become reality simply because we want it to. Truce talks, and even truces, can be a part of a war strategy. Nations advance into open hostility and withdraw into relative quiet, and the withdrawal no more means that anything basic has happened than the coronation of Queen Elizabeth will mean a change in the British government.

Truce in Korea will mean that for a while those particular armies

. . . . . .



April 15 saw a small group of pickets parading back and forth before the huge building that includes among its tenants the consulate of the Union of South Africa. The pickets had no noticeable effect on the elections going on that day in that far-off country but they did remind a few thousand New Yorkers of the irony of "free elections" in which only one-fifth of the population may vote, and of the nonviolent Campaign Against Unjust Laws that is the only redress of the four-fifths excluded from the polling booths.

will stop shooting at each other, and that ravaged little country can begin the impossible task of rebuilding. That is enough to rejoice in, without trying to persuade ourselves that the world has moved even an inch farther in the direction of genuine peace.

Free Enterprise

IT HAS BECOME tantamount to subversion to suggest that the American economy would react to peace with any less worthy response than a sigh of relief. The facts, unfortunately, are subversive. The unexpectedly conciliatory attitude of the Russians gave Wall Street an acute case of the jitters, labelled in the press as a "peace scare." Stock prices dropped; as this is written they are still dropping. Men talked—to their credit, with shamed faces—of a "Malenkov depression."

If it is patriotic these days to refrain from observing that American free enterprise might go bust if the adrenalin of arms spending were withheld, it is also stupid. Full employment and "prosperity" are both more dependent on the billions poured into war than most Americans like to admit. We are in the odd position of a man who must keep spending more than he can afford or go broke. Short of a drastic reorientation of our whole economic way of life, the only possibility of combining peace and prosperity is by pouring into world development effort and money equivalent to what we now spend for war.

Point 4

IT IS NOT TOO LIKELY that the nation would be willing to spend that kind

"By close air support, the Princet boys mean planting napalm f bombs smack in the middle enemy troops, sixty yards ahead our own front lines, at the po designated from a front line fo hole. This takes a bit of organizi and overhead, but the infantrym love it. It fries the Communi medium rare, and takes the ch off the wintry air for our ov boys."

—From "The Thirteen Wee of the U.S.S. Princeton," the Saturday Evening Post

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"Most students or observers of i ternational affairs place, in m judgment, too much emphasis upo the importance of the military. . . Military force has never settle permanently international friction or problems, and it never will."

—Gen. Albert C. Wedemeye in Asia Aflame

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"World ideologies play little part i Asian thinking and are little under stood. What the people strive fo is the opportunity for a little mor food in their stomachs, a littl better clothing on their backs, a firmer roof over their head, and the realization of the normal na tionalist urge for political freedom."

—Gen. Douglas MacArthu to a Joint Session of Con gress, April 19, 1951

of money on that kind of project. President Eisenhower says that "this government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of any savings achieved by real disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction." President Truman said much the same thing in October 1950.

But these are words, and the deeds are different. The deeds are the Congressional enthusiasm for cuts in foreign aid in order to speed tax reduction. The deeds are a Point 4 appropriation of $125 million compared with arms appropriations of $47,000 million, and the deeds are Secretary Dulles' suggestion that even this inadequate job should be turned over to private groups. Inadequate and unilateral, Point 4 is still the only real American effort to cope with the problems of world need. So far have we to go to peace!

The Pacifist Function

FOR PACIFISTS, the trouble is in the temptation that comes to them as to everyone else, to think big, in terms of the political and military struggles that convulse our society. The result is frustration. What can one man do to stop Congress in its tracks and send it off headlong in another direction? What can a few thousand pacifists accomplish to reconcile the Pentagon and the Presidium? Beyond writing a letter to a Congressman to oppose UMT, or holding back fifty dollars tax from a $50 billion budget until the government finds time to come around and take it, what can one do but wait around, shifting from one foot to the other, for Armageddon?

"Eloquent sermons, membership drives, expanding programs, prayers in school rooms and innumerable tracts and pamphlets excoriating personal vices and sins—all these will prove of little avail as long as the forces of religion are without a common and unqualified insistence that loyalty to God, truth, righteousness and mercy make a brotherhood of all men."

—Dr. John Paul Jones, pastor Union Church, Brooklyn

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" . . . All members of our beloved flock [should] exercise the role of peacemakers in our intercourse with those who may differ from us by characteristics of race, nationality, color of skin, habits or creed. . . . Let there be no further discrimination or segregation in the pews, at the Communion rail, at the Confessional and in parish meetings, just as there will be no segregation in the Kingdom of Heaven."

—Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel

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"As it is, the apex of our academic pyramid is not he who is endowed with the things of the spirit, who has something to give, something beyond the banal portion of the press of men, but he who has the biggest pen, the most paper, and an unbridled passion for print, one whose sole desire is to be seen on the shelf, and whose destiny is to be left there."

—Frank Binder, NEW YORK TIMES, March 22, 1953

Politics, unfortunately, is not the primary function of the pacifist. His function is love—not the kind the eggheads and the Greeks refer to as *eros,* but the *agape* variety: concern for the well-being of every individual, sympathy with his problems, awareness of his personality. It is very hard to apply love, either *eros,* or *agape,* through a mass movement. It is even harder to incorporate it in a bill.

Love is a tete-a-tete affair. You put it into your attitude to the clerk who works under you. When you've mastered that, you may be ready to try it on the anti-semite down the street, looking him in the eye without either fear or threat, trying to find out what the frustrations were that turned him bitter and vengeful, trying to help him to escape them into the security of a life built on love. When that happens, of course, then you've dug out a whole clump of anti-semitism's roots, instead of just hacking impatiently at the replaceable growth above the ground.

It's a rough fact to face, but pacifists are unlikely either to stop the cold war or prevent a third world war. Their political program, which makes sense, does so only on the assumption that at least a large minority of their fellow-citizens also have recognized their vocation as love, and in that case no one would need much help in formulating the proper political program. What they can really do now is to live themselves the kind of lives that would make war impossible, and to meet their problems and their fellow men alike in the spirit of love.

And that, of course, is the way in which the kingdom will finally come.

"Some 10,700,000 of Korea's tc population of 21,000,000 are list as 'destitute.' I have had long perience in international re problems, but this is the first ti I ever found more than half t population of a country in su straits. As a matter of fact, by the greater part of the balance the people are scarcely more f tunately situated; by western stan ards they would be consider paupers."

—Dr. Elfan Rees,
Adviser on Refugee Affai World Council of Churche

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The World Health Organization r ports that more than 3,000,000 v tims of the crippling tropic disease, yaws, have been treate in large-scale campaigns unde taken by the governments Haiti, Indonesia, the Philippines an Thailand with the aid of WHO. all, nearly 8,000,000 persons hav been examined. The cost of the e fective penicillin treatments is ca culated at less than three dolla per patient. During the recent can paigns, the penicillin needed fo the treatment of children an mothers was provided by the U International Children's Emergenc Fund.

—Worldover Pres

The Prefet's Dirty Job

by Magda Trocme

EVEN NOW, years later, we keep hearing reminders of the terrible moral dilemmas with which the war confronted government officials.

Not long ago, my younger son came back from a trip to Italy, and a gendarme examining his passport at the border, said: "Trocmé? Are you the son of Pastor Trocmé?"

"Yes," said Daniel, surprised.

"During the war, when I was near Le Chambon, I was told to arrest your father, but I managed not to do it, because it was a dirty job!"

Yes, it was a dirty job, and that man managed not to do it, but how many others had to do dirty jobs because they were officials! Some of them believed that the Government was right; others felt they must obey even if the Government was not right, as a soldier who obeys even though he feels that war is wrong.

We had two interesting experiences of this kind with the Préfet of the Haute Loire, and the Captain of the gendarmerie in Le Puy. Both of them helped to execute unjust laws and both of them had to ask for help for themselves later on, when things had changed and those whom they had arrested were powerful and free.

It was February 13, 1943, around 7 o'clock in the evening, when two gendarmes knocked at the door of the old presbytére in Le Chambon sur Lignon and asked to see Pastor Trocmé. I replied that he had gone to a meeting and would return later, but that I could answer all their questions, since I knew all about my husband's work.

They explained that it was something very personal and that they would wait. I took them to my husband's office and forgot all about them. We had so much work, and so little time to waste!

When my husband came back, he rushed to his office, found himself face to face with the gendarmes and was told that he was under arrest. Why? In those days no one dared to ask why such things happened.

André went to the attic where a German Jew lay hidden and told him not to worry because the gen-

darmes were not for him, and I went to the cellar to warn the old German Jewish woman there not to keep putting her head into the kitchen, because it was dangerous for her and for us.

I asked the gendarmes if I might prepare André's clothes and they said I could have all the time I needed, but that I should not notify any friends or neighbors of what was happening. A few days earlier, needing clothes, I had undone the "prison suitcase" I had prepared months before. So many times André had been menaced by prison that I had a special suitcase for this purpose, but clothes had become scarce!

While Mlle. Reynier and I prepared things, André and the children had supper with the gendarmes. The latter were so bewildered by the invitation that they could not eat, and the conversation was rather dull!

It happened that André and I ha been invited for supper that eve ning by a church counsellor, M. Gi bert. As so often happened in th rush of work we forgot the invita tion, and M. Gibert sent his daugh ter to remind us of her father' birthday. She came, saw the po lice, ran away, and told everyon what was happening in the parson age. A few minutes later, the peo ple of the village started a sort c procession, coming to say goodby and to bring presents. Queer pres ents: things not seen for years, pu aside as precious items for ver special days—things like sardine soap, sausage, toilet-paper*, eau d cologne and candles. But at the en

* Later in the concentration camp m husband discovered that here and there among the toilet-paper something wa written on certain leaves. He looke closer and read verses of the Bible, writ ten in great haste and he felt gratefu to read those words, chosen from amon the most encouraging ones!

Andre and Magda Trocme

Back in 1925 a young French Presbyterian student at New York's Union Theological Seminary was introduced to a fellow European studying at the New York School of Social Work. A year later, their training completed, André Trocmé of France and Magda Grilli of Italy were married. Both came from families with an international tradition, for André's parents were French and German, Magda's Italian and Russian.

After eight years in a north-of-France mining parish they went to the little Protestant church at Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, and later were co-founders of the College Cevenol. They carried it and the little church through the war, in spite of their refusal to compromise with the laws or regulations they felt were wrong.

Now André is European Secretary of the International FOR. Magda carries much of the burden of administration of office, meeting place and home, in the face of shortages of food, money, equipment, and practically every other necessity.

we discovered that the matches were missing and the gendarme (the Captain) gave his own, saying he would make a report of the way events had proceeded that evening, how everybody had been calm, and the population friendly and full of love. Later we discovered that the police had been frightened, suspecting some kind of revolt. Many police cars arrived and the telephone and telegraph had been stopped. At the same time, M. Theis, the headmaster of the College Cevenol, and M. Darcissac, the headmaster of the elementary school, were arrested, too.

André had the honor of being arrested by the *Capitaine de gendarmerie* himself! In LePuy the prisoners were put to sleep with sheets, but with the door locked, and next morning they had no more private cars, but only the *panier à salade*—the special car for prisoners. At the station they had to walk between two gendarmes and they were taken to the concentration camp of St. Paul d'Eyjeaux, without any more consideration at all.

Next morning—and here comes the conflict of conscience—two gendarmes of Tence, the next small town, came to see me and tell me that they wanted to apologize for what had happened the evening before! They knew perfectly well that my husband was a fine man, but they had had to execute the orders from above. The *Capitaine de gendarmerie,* the evening before, watching us all singing Luther's hymn as my husband left the house, told me that never in his life had he been obliged to perform such a job, and that it was against his will, because he admired and respected the man he was to arrest.

Years went by and the liberation came. Everything was changed. M. Laval was executed, and M. Pétain arrested. The crowds who had acclaimed Pétain turned against him, and completely forgot that once they had admired him. Once more André preached against the public opinion, saying that the Pétain actions had been the actions of almost all the French nation.

M. Bach, the Préfet who had sent the order to arrest André, was in prison and the captain was in difficulties. Mme. Bach wrote asking André to be a witness for her husband at the trial, and the captain asked for a letter stating how kind he had been the day of André's arrest.

Yes, we could do it, because both of them had obeyed their government, being only human, and with right and wrong judged by men so difficult to establish. If Hitler had won the war, Pétain would have been a great man, and M. Bach and the captain would surely have had promotions and honors instead of prison, trials and difficulties.

When the time of M. Bach's trial came, André was in Sweden and I went to the Court and spoke of Le

Chambon, of the mysterious telephone calls telling us that the police would come, or simply advising us to be cautious. I told them that M. Bach had offered to help me when André was in concentration camp, and if M. Bach had really wanted to obey the Government's orders, the work of Le Chambon would have been stopped immediately.

Mme. Bach sat next to me during the trial and cried most of the time. I told her I was sure that her husband would be free, that the trial was turning out well, but she still was in despair, fearing that he would lose his grade in the army, his decorations and perhaps his French nationality!

I was amazed—yes, it was French soldier being judged, and that French soldier had obeyed Marshal Pétain, the hero of Verdun. He had intended to do his duty and freedom would not mean anything to him if his loyalty to France was not recognized.

My husband, too, had acted as he thought a French citizen should have acted, and both these men had been arrested for their convictions history condemning one of these men in a certain time, and condemning the other at another Right and wrong are not always clear and easy to understand, and this is the great problem of mankind, the great problem of human conscience.

Shadows in Playland

Stretched on the sand, I let the sun slash down
And turn my skin to fire, then burning, saw
A rattlesnake slide swiftly, sleek and brown
Past blobs of seafoam and a dead crab's claw.
A passerby stamped on the hot, white beach;
The rattler coiled and spat, head poised to spring.
We stood aside, out of the reptile's reach,
While overhead a sharp-beaked gull took wing.
"Candles of Christ," they call the Bayonet,
A cactus plant that blazons in this place
Into white fire of torch-like buds—and yet
Its leaves are poisonous spikes to gash your face!
And a black shadow stains these sunny lands,
Where Negro homes are bombed by white men's hands.

—Anne E. Moffett

the structure of a NONVIOLENT society

By Richard B. Gregg

WAR IS AN INHERENT, inevitable, and essential element of the civilization in which we live. Our aim can be nothing short of building an entirely new civilization in which domination and violence of all kinds play a small and steadily decreasing part. We must change nonviolently and deeply the motives, functions, and institutions of our whole culture.

The first step toward such a society is the development of people capable of making such changes, and this I have discussed at length in my book, *The Power of Non-Violence*.[1] But to say no more than that would leave most people hanging in mid-air. Most of us want to know, also, what kind of an outer world such people would try to create.

Individuals will, of course, differ on the ideal program of social, political and economic change. Any civilization is a complex affair and many, many ideas would have to enter into its making. No single person or group could formulate all that would be needed. Believers in peace and nonviolence would be wise to form many little local groups to discuss such changes and study their own and various other proposals deeply. I suspect that one of the reasons for the sense of futility by peace-minded persons all over the civilized world is that they have not grappled with the detailed problems of gradual change needed in social, economic and political society. To secure peace requires more than education and persuasion without concrete goals. We need to know what features in civilization create the terrible lusts for power and the widespread frustrations that make men eventually willing to fight. As V. A. Demant said: "Radical peace effort consists in finding for peace conditions, not only what William James called 'the moral equivalent of war,' but also the economic, social and psychic equivalent."[2]

Not in any dogmatic spirit, but just as an anvil upon which other people can hammer out their own ideas, let me offer my ideas of the major changes needed to build a

[1] Fellowship Publications, $2.

[2] Theology of Society. London, 1947

nonviolent civilization.

"Power Corrupts"

I believe strongly in the truth of Lord Acton's saying: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Because socialism must result in centralization of power, I cannot advocate complete socialism as a means of building a nonviolent society. Yet there are certain matters that by their nature must be handled, if they are to be effective, on a regional or nationwide scale, and perhaps in some instances even on a continental scale. We must run the risk of the concentration of power in these few items, taking care to provide guards specifically against the danger. These instances are:

a) Conservation and control of all water supplies, including rivers, lakes, dams, irrigation, reservoirs, underground water (i.e., control of wells and tube wells), canals, and of forests on all watersheds. This would also involve much reforestation and building of many small check dams.

b) Conservation of soil by democratic discussion groups and local cooperative operating groups among farmers and peasants for the best agricultural practices—contour plowing, terraces, strip cultivation, composting, use of night soil, crop rotation, seed selection, restriction of grazing of cattle and goats, etc.

c) Railroads.

d) Roads, with national standards of building and repair and division of responsibility and expense between nation, states, districts and municipalities. Some arterial long roads maintained entirely by the central government.

e) Ownership of all coal land and of all petroleum discovere under the ground, with leases t private operators.

f) Telephone and telegraph sys tems. Radio communication per haps managed after the manne of the British Broadcasting Cor poration.

g) State or municipally owne and operated electric power ger erators and distribution lines.

h) Certain measures of publ health, such as control of com municable diseases, standards o flour, cereals, processed an tinned foods, and of all medicine and drugs.

A Further Program

Beyond these I advocate as th characteristics of a nonviolent so ciety the following:

1. A strong emphasis on agricul ture as the most important part o the life of the nation, so that i rather than industry, commerce o finance, should be the controllin factor in the nation. Only thus ca man regain an ecologically soun relation to his food resources. A it is, neither Western Europe no the British Isles is able to provid enough food for its people. Worl population already has outrun th production of the total arable lan of the world. Industrialism is n longer a sound way of life.

2. Primary education should b imparted to all children throug some craft or productive and reall useful manual work that woul provide the nucleus and basis o all other instruction in the schoo If the child learns carpentry, fo example, he would need to lear arithmetic and geometry becaus of the practical necessity to mea ure and estimate his material, t cut and shape and join it accurate

and strongly. He will approach history as an aspect of the history of building and furniture. Geography will come naturally out of the desire to know where the different kinds of wood grew. Writing, spelling and reading he will need for the purpose of making and keeping records and because so much of the knowledge of the world is in the printed word.

Such an education would balance the intellectual and practical elements of experience and train coordination of body and mind. It would cultivate a sense of the dignity of manual labor and of human solidarity. It would develop self-confidence, self-reliance, initiative, individual responsibility, and spontaneous cooperation.

The object would not be primarily to produce skilled craftsmen (though it would do that) but to develop through the combination of hand and mind at the formative stage of life the moral qualities needed for human unity and non-violence. This should be the basis of education for all children, no matter whether later they are destined to enter the professions, other intellectual callings or stay in manual work. This is the scheme worked out by Mahatma Gandhi and known in India as "basic education."

Adult education should also be changed so as to cater primarily to the needs of agriculture and decentralized, small-scale forms and modes of organization and life. Adult education should be provided in small groups for all adults of all ages who want it.

3. Simplicity of living.

4. Decentralization and local autonomy, i.e., emphasis on the superior value of small-scale organization in *all* fields. Only thus can the dangers of corruption from great power be avoided.

5. As for integrating small units into inclusive larger units, which now is done usually by money, industrialism, commerce, violence (police and armies), or political manipulation, I advocate the use of cultural and educational means, also the invention of activities for certain limited purposes such as the international postal organization, international exchange of scientific and mathematical discoveries, international exchange of agri-

What Would a "New World" Look Like?

Pacifists generally believe that the road to peace begins in the changed personality. But what then? What are the outlines of the society such changed personalities would build if they could? What would be the economic and political and social framework of the new society?

Richard Gregg, author of the pacifist classic, **The Power of Non-Violence,** starts the discussion. From time to time **Fellowship** will hope to bring other writers' ideas on the subject, including those of its readers. How does that distant new world look to you?

cultural and meteorological information. Such loose and elastic modes of cultural interchange and unity prevailed for centuries in Asia and were one reason, I believe, for the long endurance of Asiatic culture.

Coops and Single Tax

6. Extension of producer and consumer cooperatives.

7. National, state, rural and municipal use of Henry George's principle of "single tax" as a means of ending monopolies of land.

8. Certain banking and money reforms. As to the latter, the form of money proposed by Gesell and used successfully during World War I in many places should be universally used, and its principle applied to all the five functions that money performs, so as to have one form of money for each function.

9. Ending of racial discrimination.

10. Abandonment of imperialism, both economic and political.

11. Reform of all penal institutions and methods.

12. Abolition of secret police.

13. Abolition of land ownership by any religious organization except for its own churches or temples.

14. The development of religious practices that will really give to many people direct and unitary experience of communion with the Spirit, and a sense of human unity through the Spirit.

15. When, as a result, an effective plurality of society really believes in the constant presence and effective power of Spirit, then bring about a reorganization of society so that its guidance and that of governments shall rest with individual religious seers who must themselves take no part in politics or hold any political office, and not be wealthy either in terms of land or money. They should not hold any office in any church or religious organization. Their authority should be purely moral and depend only upon recognition of their personal wisdom, and not by virtue of any church authority. They must avoid temptations and corruptions of all kinds of power. The active managing and ruling groups in all spheres would be separated, but would, on questions of policy, seek the advice of the seers.

16. The masses should be so thoroughly trained in an understanding of nonviolent resistance that at any time, if despite precautions their rulers should go wrong, the masses can offer an effective veto to the harmful proposals of their rulers, or to invasion by an aggressive outside group or nation.

Let me repeat that all these are only one person's suggestions, incomplete and perhaps faulty, and put forward only as a possible starting point for discussion and study and revision and perhaps rejection, but leading ultimately to some sort of action for a better world.

Poem

Breathed a wave of love, of love
Long before the world began—
Watched it swell to rise above
Pyramids of man.

Built a house of stone, of stone,
Granite-girded roof and floor;
Forged a prison for my soul
And touched the sun no more.

—Lois Jaffin

LETTER from HONG KONG

by E. E. Walline

LAST OCTOBER the People's Republic of China celebrated its third anniversary. Great parades and mass meetings in Peking marked the event, and achievements of the regime were acclaimed with unrestrained patriotic fervor.

In its fourth year the Central People's Government has unified the country more completely than any previous government in the nation's recorded history. With the aid of modern communications and techniques of control it makes its influence strongly felt to the very fringes of the vast area that has come under its jurisdiction. The writ of the Central Government now runs into the remotest villages of the mountain tribes and across long-isolated Tibet. An immense army stands ready to do the will of the government in operations both inside and outside of the country.

The government is intent on destroying the ancient culture of the land and building up a new and alien culture in its stead. Material reconstruction absorbs an immense amount of energy: transportation is being extended rapidly and industries developed. Great schemes of flood prevention and water conservation employ countless thousands, many of them political prisoners condemned to "reform-through-labor." The reorganization and extension of education to serve the ends of the new society are in progress. Indoctrination and regimentation of the people go steadily on. The methods are those of a totalitarian regime; fear and repression play a large part in the process.

As one views the vast changes taking place in China it is hard to escape the conclusion that the transformation in progress is one of the greatest developments in his-

tory. Whether this renaissance is to be for the final weal or woe of the Chinese people and the world is still hid from our eyes. In view of the suppression of liberties within the land and the aggressive designs of the government outside of the land, the present trend is not reassuring.

Substantial Land Reform

Land reform in China has been substantially completed. The immediate effect appears to have been a loss of productivity, probably balanced by the opening up of marginal lands and bringing back under cultivation areas redeemed by flood-prevention schemes. Experiments in large-scale farming with tractors in certain places may be an indication of the coming of collective farms, and later of the nationalization of land.

Doubtless the average peasant has experienced at least an ephemeral type of prosperity following upon the redistribution of the land. However, heavy requisitioning of produce to maintain the food supplies of the cities robs this of some of its meaning. Industrial workers of the large cities perhaps have gained most under the new conditions, though there is much unemployment, and the widely proclaimed benefits are probably the portion of a relatively small number. The load of taxation grows heavier as the Government seeks funds for war purposes and for industrial construction.

The most spectacular recent undertaking was the launching and prosecution of a vast anti-corruption campaign. The early days of the People's Republic produced glowing reports of the elimination of graft and corruption in government and society. Old ways die hard, however, and apparently not only some merchants and manufacturers but also some important party members sought to continue old practices, since cases of large-scale corruption and maladministration in high places induced the Government to undertake a thorough house-cleaning.

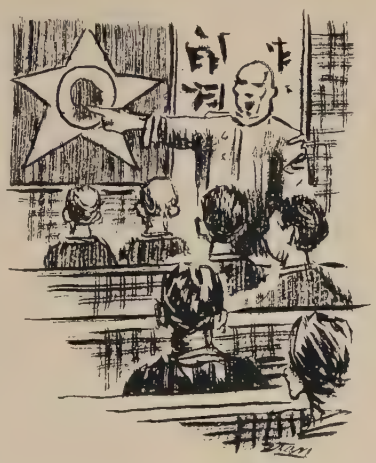
The cities were the chief centers of the new campaign. The first phase of the cleaning-up program directed against party members and officials, was the "Three-Anti Movement" (anti-corruption, anti-waste, and anti-bureacracy). When this campaign had got well under way another began: the "Five-Anti-Movement" (anti-bribery, anti-tax-evasion, anti-cheating, anti-theft-of-state-property, and anti-theft-of-state-economic-information), directed primarily against the merchants and manufacturing class.

Terror and Dislocation

Trade came practically to a standstill throughout the country. No one could move from place to place without special permits. All important individuals were forced to make confessions, and associates were urged to make accusations against them. The people became utterly terrorized; waves of suicide swept the cities. The dislocation of the economic life of the nation was widespread. Perhaps the government realized that it had gone too far, for it later tried to rehabilitate bankrupt concerns with special loans.

President Mao Tse-tung called for a "Production Increase and Austerity Emulation Campaign." While the government explained this drive in terms of support for the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea, it was doubtless for the pur-

pose of overcoming the paralysis of the nation's economic life by maximum hours of terrific toil. The government described the reforms as having permanent value, but they seem rather to have impoverished the possessors of wealth, enriched government coffers for war purposes, and disorganized business. Certainly the government now dominates business and industry. One who has observed the trend at close hand writes, "We may be approaching the time when there will be one employer, one shopkeeper, one banker, one publisher, and one landowner."



While in some areas the government can make its will felt without great opposition, it finds more difficulty in enforcing measures of social reform. The Marriage Law, attempting to eliminate polygamy and concubinage, is a case in point. It cuts across many old customs and habits, and subordinate officials are inclined to go slowly in applying its provisions. Many rural people believe that the Communist power is only temporary. Hence many Communist cadres are reluctant to act against the more influential people in their communities who fail to observe the new Marriage Law for fear of retaliation in the event of the "weather changing."

The newest nationwide undertaking was a thought-reform movement designed to make all Chinese intellectuals faithful followers of Mao Tse-tung. It includes special efforts to reshape the thinking of teachers and professors, with a former university campus being used as an indoctrination center under the name of a "Research Class," more popularly known as a "brain-washing hospital."

The indoctrination of children goes on steadily and bodes ill for the future. In order to destroy traditional family concepts, the Communists require children above the age of eight to join local Red groups. One objective here is the training of children to note the speech and actions of their parents and families and assist in "discovering enemies" of the regime. A member of an Indian culture mission that visited China some time ago said that she was heartsick at the sight of "what the Chinese call nursery schools but which I recognize as indoctrination centers for small children—centers where they are taught to hate everything that is not Communist. My heart bled for the children and their parents."

The educational system of China is being reorganized root and branch. Former institutions—government, private and Christian—are being broken up and reconstituted in order to train a vastly larger number of students in every field of endeavor considered important to the national cause. For the

immediate future quality is to be sacrificed to quantity. The emphasis lies on technical and scientific training. Engineering schools will receive the highest priority. The wholesale training concept also radically affects medical training. A two-and-a-half year course will train a large number of persons as medical workers, including a rough type of specialization. A few selected institutions will train a higher grade of medical personnel.

From the capital in Peking emanate plans and projects for the whole country. Great exhibitions stimulate effort in connection with programs of reconstruction and foment hatred against internal and external enemies. Internal enemies, when discovered, are summarily dealt with. External enemies are attacked by campaigns of propaganda designed to create solidarity of national will by generating hatred against them.

The American "Enemy"

The chief external enemy at present is the United States. Exhibitions in Peking portray the long history of alleged American aggression. Newspapers, films, and radio programs pump the virus of hatred to the uttermost parts of the nation. During the past year the magnitude of the effort devoted to prove America the perpetrator of germ warfare against China has been astounding. The manufactured evidence of such warfare has left nothing undone in the way of cleverness and thoroughness. The "evidence" has been so realistic and persuasive that there is little doubt that the majority of the people believe the assertions of the government.

It is noteworthy that the government should have devoted so much attention to the Christian church when its total membership, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, represents only about one percent of the population. There are two obvious reasons for this. In the first place, the connections that have existed between the younger churches in China and the older churches in the West have led to great pressure upon the churches as "friends and collaborators" with the imperialist nations against which the Chinese government is contending. Secondly, by its nature a Communist regime cannot tolerate any group or organization within its jurisdiction that has not been brought into line with its policies and made subservient to its will.

Church Freedom Limited

Even where church bodies have had no relationships with foreign mission organizations throughout their history, the authorities have still insisted on "reforms" to limit the freedom of these bodies. For example, the "Jesus Families," which are entirely indigenous and which practice the utmost austerity and simplicty of living, have come under scrutiny along with other church bodies and have been forced to make changes in order to show their complete loyalty and patriotism.

All church organizations come under the supervision of the Government Bureau of Religious and Cultural Affairs. The churches have been led to cooperate in the formation of a liaison group called "The Church of Christ in China—Resist America—Aid Korea—Three Selves Movement—Preparatory Committee" (more generally known as the Three Selves Committee). This committee, which wields great influence, handles all negotiations be-

tween church bodies and the government, and seeks to implement the policies of the government with respect to the churches. It also handles property arrangements between mission and church bodies. Missionaries leaving China have had to make their final arrangements for the care of mission property through this committee. The National Christian Council has practically ceased to function although it continues to exist in name.

Gospel Christianity

The activities of individual churches have taken on a strong patriotic flavor under the "persuasion" of the government. Christian groups are pledged to support the general programs of the government and are urged to take part in drives for funds to buy planes and artillery, protest against germ warfare and the alleged brutal treatment of Chinese prisoners by the United Nations, assist in land reform, hold classes for thought reform, and lend their buildings for various kinds of political meetings.

Church attendance in the larger cities continues to be good, especially where the pastors preach gospel sermons and refrain so far as possible from utterances of a political nature. Where pastors blend a good deal of politics with their preaching congregations tend to drop off. Congregations prefer that the pervading political pressures should not be introduced into periods of divine worship.

Testing Will Continue

There is no direct interference with Protestant church services, but this freedom to worship is really the only freedom the church enjoys. Individual Christians often find that their religion is a liability when applying for jobs. The authorities continue studiously to avoid the appearance of persecuting religion, but the outlook is poor that pressures upon the churches will let up. The testing of the reality of Christian faith is likely to continue.

The reconstruction of Christian institutions and their absorption into the pattern desired by the

government continues. Every effort is being made to destroy the evidences of previous connections with foreigners. Most of these institutions now are being broken up and their several departments integrated into other institutions. One Christian university is to become a workers' college. Another is to become a political training center. In Peking a great educational center is being developed which will include Yenching University.

Christian middle schools have lost their identity and former names and now bear numerical designations as part of the educational system of the cities in which they are located. One school has become a normal training school. Another has become a special school for the children of officials. The dearth of news from within China is such that no satisfactory report is possible regarding the condition of Christian work within the educational institutions formerly related to the churches and missions.

The news about mission hospitals is meager. In most cases the hospitals have been made part of the community health facilities and their administration is in the hands of the government. Nurses' training courses have been reduced from three years to two with applicants of lower middle school grade accepted. Bed capacity of the hospitals is being greatly increased with no addition to medical staff. The former names of the hospitals have been discontinued and most hospitals are now called Peoples Hospitals.

Missionaries who have come out of China during the past year have been in various states of physical and nervous exhaustion after enduring many sorts of hardships. Contrary to what might be expected they have not been in a defeatist mood. While they recognize that the end of a missionary era has come they have been uniformly agreed in declaring that they have faith in the church in China and believe that it will live on under the guidance of the great Head of the Church. One missionary who is still within China and beset with many troubles still maintains an undiscourageable faith in the future of the cause of Christ in China. Recently he wrote, "I refuse to call the present eclipse of missionary work in China a defeat. In God's good time it will be seen to have been merely a detour. The results are certain even if we do not live to see them."

A Conscientious Objector Speaks

War, would you take the only thing
That I may surely call my own?
In that small realm where I am king,
Would you say, Abdicate the throne?

This that no one can touch or see
Or hear until I give it voice—
My innate, lone integrity—
Goes, if I yield my power of choice.

—Elinor Lennen

The Fellowship of *Suffering*

By Winburn T. Thomas

"GIVE MY PEOPLE a message of comfort," said a Hanoi French Indo-China minister as we entered his pulpit. "Three out of every four of our members have been unable to reenter the city since the fighting began in December 1946, and almost every family has lost at least one member since the civil war began." To speak meaningfully to a community bound together in suffering probes the depths of one's own faith.

Yet those who have suffered easily understand it, and are strengthened by the knowledge that they do not suffer alone. On a preaching mission through South Korea I sought to consult with my traveling companion, the General Secretary of the National YMCA, before every address, as to what I should say. Many of the audiences consisted almost entirely of refugees who had fled across the 38th Parallel with only the clothing on their backs.

My friend said: "Every time you speak, tell of the sufferings others are enduring. We have been under the oppressor's heel so long, we are convinced that we alone know the meaning of pain. We need to realize that others, too, have been imprisoned, that there are armies of refugees in other lands, and that insecurity, hunger and pain are today the common lot of many. We can take courage when we know that we do not endure these things alone."

The Broken Fellowship

Not to know and be known may constitute real suffering. Speaking of the difficulties that the Church of the South Maluccas had experienced under the Japanese occupation, during the bombings, and more recently as part of the rebellion against the Indonesian Republic, a spokesman said, "Our greatest loss has not been the destruction of our homes and churches or the physical inconveniences, but the fact that fellowship with the churches outside has been broken for so long." Especially to minority groups, the sense of solidarity is a sustaining power. The loss of that oneness may spell spiritual as well as physical defeat.

A given bit of suffering may be a preparation for a bigger testing. The difficulties experienced by the Christian community in China under the Japanese were a conditioning for even more trying experiences under the Communists. The Japanese were comparative ama-

teurs in exploiting the Church for their purposes. The followers of Mao Tse-tung have domesticated the Christian religion for Party purposes, impressing the major denominations and interdenominational organizations into backing the war in Korea, even to the extent of purchasing a bombing plane, and in attacking America with a campaign of hatred. Church reports make scarce mention of the Christian witness; they tell only of accusation meetings sponsored by the churches, describe land reform participation on the part of the church youth, and denounce former leaders as tools of imperialism or cultural spies.

Still, sorry though the official story is, intimations leak through the bamboo curtain of triumphant faith. Three students writing from Peking sum up their feelings thus: "Looking back over the past two years, our souls are full of thankfulness and praise. As we grope our way, God leads; as we offend, God pardons; our defeats through the power of God become victories. Our weaknesses through the might of God become strength. God has chosen lowly agents to bear witness to His kingdom, His power, and His glory."

Significance of Suffering

God in his pursuit of man conceivably could have used means other than suffering to achieve his purposes. It is significant that he chose suffering. Woven into the fabric of history is the pattern: no progress without sacrifice. In his *Essays in Social Theory,*[1] Professor G. D. H. Cole of Oxford speaks of the contributions of religious persecution to the emergence and development of Anglo-Saxon concepts of democracy. Non-conforming Puritanism, openly opposed in many instances, barely tolerated in others, had to organize to resist. "Dissent became in this way one of the great schools of democracy (and) repository of true democratic values. . . . Opposition and persecution are great levelers, and therefore great teachers of democracy. Success and recognition are apt to kill the democratic spirit." Large organizations, he says, develop bureaucratic tendencies. In a persecuted body, each member is under pressure to be up and doing. Professor Cole then asks, "Does this mean that democracy is, in sober truth, only a by-product of persecution and intolerance?"

Faith deals with evil not by explaining but by transmuting it. A Japanese university student who had refused to accept conscription under Tojo, while awaiting the arrival of the police, wrote in a letter: "Do not worry about me as I face this new experience. Man cannot hurt me. My citizenship is in no earthly kingdom but in heaven. During the years we have worked together you have not been a foreigner to me and I have not been a stranger to you. You are mine. I am yours. We all belong to God. There is only the Cross."

God is personally involved in man's suffering. Calvary is only the historical evidence of the agony God undergoes for his creation. Lootfy Levonian of Beirut, in the book *Renewal and Advance,*[2] says, "The Cross of Christ is not merely an act or an event of the past, but of present experience also." Christ not only bore the Cross but still does. "When the Church realizes this experience of sharing the bur-

[1] Macmillan, London, 1950

[2] Edinburgh House Press, 1948

en of the sin of the world with hrist, and suffers with Him for he redemption of mankind, there an be no other feeling but that of ellowship, a fellowship of sacrificial love that will drown in its epth all other distinctions. At the ot of the Cross of Christ, there an be nothing but fellowship and nity of heart and soul."

Participation in Suffering

We participate in God's creativity when we accept for ourselves ome of the causes of suffering in he world. Rizal, who for the Filiino embodies Washington, Jefferon and Lincoln, said shortly beore his execution, in talking with is colleague Gregorio Aglipay, "In ll parts of the world where an onest man lifts his thought to reform, he encounters Golgotha. But do not let that frighten you."

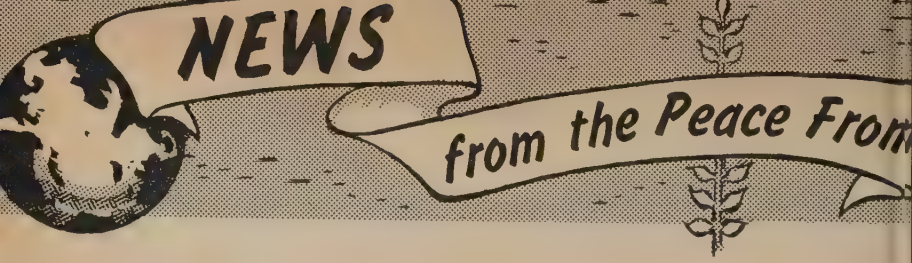
Many of us could face death courageously if we were certain history would vindicate us. Rizal has since become "The Pride of the Malay Race," but at the time he was not even certain his name would survive. Yet he insisted upon righteousness for righteousness' sake. "It is probable that they will not only execute me, but will try to bring about my moral death as well by covering my memory with slander. But do not let that frighten you. . . ."

We accept the evil character of life confident that God is changing tragedy to triumph. We face terror and uncertainty confident that God's way is better than anything we can contrive. We live each day confident that not Eisenhower or Malenkov, but God, is the Lord of History.

May We Not Swerve

We wait upon Thy strength, Lord,
To hold the things of this life lightly
In open hands.
To have today the shelter of this roof,
The warmth of fire assured,
A job to work at that will keep
Our shelves well stocked
The children clothed and well,
And yet not love these things
More than the truth we know
The God that we would serve.
May we not swerve
If on the morrow we be called
To leave behind this little yellow house
And walk on down the road
Into the storm.

—Rosalie Erwin Wahl



Chapel Hill Dispute Continues

In late March the Orange Presbytery in North Carolina, which has dismissed FOR-member Charles Jones as minister of the Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church against the wishes of his elders, deacons and congregation, dissolved the boards of deacons and elders of the church as well, "for the welfare of the church." The ministry of Charles Jones, which has been noted for liberal racial and theological views, has been strongly supported by his congregation and and church officers, most of the latter being members of the faculty or staff of the University of North Carolina. One of the church officers dismissed is Dr. Frank P. Graham, former U. S. Senator, former president of the University of North Carolina, and now a mediator for the United Nations.

On April 6 the congregation, at its annual business meeting, adopted a resolution protesting the ouster of the pastor and church officers, and charged the Presbytery's commission with acting in a "destructive, dictatorial and vindictive manner" and disregarding "the needs of the congregation and the efforts of the officers and the acting pastor to work out a constructive solution to the church's problems."

The congregation also appointed a six-man steering committee to draw up a formal complaint against the commission's action, for submission to the North Carolina Synod and, if necessary, to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. The complaint will be signed by individual members of the congregation, since under Church Law neither the church officers nor the congregation can appeal as a body from the commission's ruling.

New Conference on Church and Peace

The new Detroit conference sponsored by the Church Peace Mission, will be held on December 7-10, 1953, on the general subject of "The Church and Peace." The Conference Program will be divided into three main sections: An attempt to analyze the nature of the present world crisis in its spiritual, political, economic and social aspects, and the forces at work; a consideration of the scriptural, theological and philosophical basis of Christian pacifism, and such things as the nature and mission of the Church and relations of Church to society and state; and practical steps in working through local churches, seminaries and colleges and bringing the position of the

Church Peace Mission, which represents the Third Position of Amsterdam, before the World Council meeting to be held in Evanston in 1954, and before the National Council, and denominational bodies.

Trocme to Visit U.S. Next Fall

André Trocmé, European Secretary of the International FOR, will come to this country next September for a speaking tour that will extend until the second week of December. This time, his engagements will be limited to the territory east of the Mississippi and not including the South, but including a trip to Canada.

This spring, Trocmé is touring the French Protectorates of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco in North Africa, and will be able to give first-hand reports of the situation there. During the summer he will travel in Europe, including conferences in Holland and Germany.

Trocmé will be a featured speaker at the Conference on the Church and Peace at Detroit, on December 7-10, sponsored by the Church Peace Mission.

For information about dates and places on this tour, write to Nevin Sayre at 21 Audubon Avenue, New York.

Libraries May Get Free Fellowship

Through a library subscription fund established by FOR-member Martin R. Haase, any library in New England can now receive a free subscription to FELLOWSHIP magazine. FOR members in the area are urged to talk to their town or school librarians, to find out whether such a subscription would be accepted. Experience has shown that frequently libraries destroy unauthorized magazines, so authorization should be obtained before subscriptions are entered.

Orders may be sent directly to FELLOWSHIP Magazine Library Fund, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y. Sample copies may be obtained from there or from the Boston FOR office.

Dotys Arrested Second Time

The *four Doty brothers,* Joel, Orin, Paul and Sid, of Bruno, Minnesota, all of whom served sentences in 1952 for refusal to register, have all been arrested again. Joel, the older, was sentenced to two years the first time and the other three to 18 months each. They were in prison at Springfield, Missouri, and Ashland, Kentucky, from April until June 1952.

The new arrests took place in March. Joel, Orin and Paul were arrested on March 2 and Sid, who was snowbound, on March 6. All four have been released on $1,500 bond each. The brothers' father, William N. Doty, was a World War I CO, and is a member of the FOR.

Peter Machin Fry, 24-year old British subject who took up permanent residence here in 1947 and is studying to become a minister of Jehovah's Witnesses, was acquitted by the United States Court of Appeals in March of refusal to be inducted. His draft board had failed to notify him of denial of CO status.

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to review the cases of *Harry Nugent and Lester Packer.*

Harry Nugent's case is the one that was decided by the second Circuit Court of Appeals in favor of the CO because of refusal of the FBI to make available its secret reports on him.

Judge William C. Mathes in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles has been following the procedure of examining the FBI reports himself. If he feels it contains material of value to the defense and the FBI refuses to let the defense examine it, he grants the government's motion to dismiss the prosecution. The government prefers to do this than to continue and have a judgment of acquittal handed down. If Judge Mathes finds nothing in the file of value to the defense he continues the prosecution with the file remaining undisclosed.

The appeals in the *Bender and Borisuk* cases have been postponed pending the Supreme Court's decision in the Packer and Nugent cases.

Israel Fuerer, a student at Reed College in California, was found guilty of refusal to submit to induction on February 26 and sentenced to 6 months by Judge Claude McColloch in U.S. District Court in San Diego. Judge McColloch is an Oregon district judge, but tried the case because the regular judge, Jacob Weinberger, disqualified himself as an old family friend of the defendant. Fuerer is free on bond pending appeal.

Bernard Primbsch, Catholic CO from Sonoma, California, served an 18-month sentence at McNeil Island for refusal to submit to induction. He registered for the draft but was classified I-A, though he requested CO status. He was denied parole but was released on good time September 23, 1952. The local draft board then reclassified hi I-O.

Lawrence I. Tuttle, Jr., was a quitted March 4, in U.S. Distri Court in Los Angeles by Judg Leon R. Yankwich, of refusing report for induction. Tuttle ha been classified I-O and later aske for a change to IV-D when he be came a pre-divinity student. Ir stead, the board classified him I- and ordered him to report for in duction.

On April 13 Rep. Dewey Sho (R.-Mo.) introduced into the Hous a bill to extend the doctors dra which included, for the first tim in any draft bill, provision tha time served in CPS camps unde the Selective Service Act of 194 should be credited to a draftee o the same basis as service in th armed services or the reserve. Th same bill was introduced into th Senate by Senator Leverett Salton stall (R.-Mass.).

Communist Charge Arouses Church Groups

The Un-American Activitie Committee of the House of Repre sentatives appears, in spite o strong and outspoken protests, t be heading for an investigation o communism, or pro-communism, i churches and church groups in the United States. The first hint came when Rep. Harold H. Velde (R.- Ill.), Chairman of the committee on a radio program in early March averred that an investigation of the nation's clergy was "entirely possible." A shout of protest went up from many quarters, including both the church and his own committee, which passed a resolution forbidding the Chairman to initiate new

nvestigations without first con-ulting the rest of the committee.

A week or so later, however, the ide turned in the other direction nd Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R.-'al.) of Velde's committee charged n the floor of Congress that "there re Communists in the church" and ttacked Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as having worked or many Communist fronts.

Oxnam has been under attack for everal months. An objective ex-mination of the evidence seems to ndicate that he has in the past been connected with some organi-ations generally recognized to have been Communist fronts, but his forthright criticisms of communism nd Communist practice, and his ublic adherence to democratic principles and practice appear to show that he is not a dupe or an accomplice of communism. The iberal Washington *Post* on Easter Sunday devoted two full pages to the text of the "information" about Oxnam collected by the Velde com-nittee, and Oxnam's detailed re-plies to the points raised. In many cases Bishop Oxnam was able to prove the information cited was false—that his alleged membership n certain groups, for example, was not a fact. (The Fellowship of Rec-onciliation was named as one or-ganization to which Oxnam had belonged. He never did belong to the FOR, and has never been an absolute pacifist.) In many other cases like this one, Bishop Oxnam was "charged" with belonging to certain groups which have never been considered subversive.

In a recent statement Bishop Ox-nam pointed out that it is the prac-tice of this committee (and doubt-less of other such committees) to send out, on request, every item on an individual that they have received, although most of this material has *never been checked or evaluated in any way.* Thus a mass of hearsay and in some cases, no doubt, malicious lies, along with some accurate information, is disseminated on the official letterhead of the committee, and is not accompanied by an explanation that it has not been checked and some or much of it may be false.

The National Council of Churches in March issued a statement on Congressional investigations, urging that witnesses should be allowed adequate time to make statements, and attacking the practice of committees of disseminating freely unsupported charges that have not been substantiated or even investigated. It also declared that control of educational institutions is not a function of Congressional committees, but is "properly vested in boards of trustees and of education selected for that purpose." The National Council statement also announced the formation of a "Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom" with instructions to watch for threats to the freedom of people or institutions.

American Books on Bookstalls of India

A new entrant in what has been called "The Battle of the Bookstalls" in India has come from the U.S. Information Service. Visitors to India have noted that cheap and free leaflets, pamphlets and books, printed in Russia and presenting the Communist point of view, are widely available there. In contrast, the bulk of U.S. and British offerings consisted of expensively-produced best sellers and hosts of

luridly-covered paper-bound mysteries, westerns, and murder stories.

The new offering consists of nearly 50 American books in eight languages, selling at prices ranging from less than a dime to about thirty cents. They include novels, biographies, and fact books and are designed to present knowledge of American life. The titles vary widely, and include Overstreet's *The Mature Mind,* Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography,* Rawlings' *The Yearling* and George Stewart's *Fire.* (WP)

Walser Fund Active in 1952

During 1952 the Theodore Walser Memorial Fund in Japan carried on a number of valuable peacemaking activities. It sponsored, as it has been doing yearly, a peace essay contest, this time on the subject "Japan's Peace as Seen from the Christian Standpoint." Entries came from 15 universities in eleven departments of the country.

Two seminars were held in Tokyo, one in the summer and one in November, at which such subjects were studied as proposed anti-subversive legislation, the U.S.-Japan administrative agreement, the government's budget involving rearmament, defense production, and the reaction in Japanese thought. In addition, three public lectures were held in September and October.

The Walser Fund plans to publish *The Power of Nonviolence* by Richard Gregg in Japanese during 1953, and is compiling, also for publication in book form, a life of Theodore Walser, in response to many requests.

New York Conference Will Be June 26-28

The National Conference of th FOR, one section of which is to b held in New York City on June 26 28, will have the same theme i each of its sections, and John Swomley and A. J. Muste of th National Staff will be among th leaders at each of the six confer ences.

The New York Conference, th program for which is pretty wel worked out now, will have E. Ray mond Wilson of the Friends Com mittee on National Legislation John Swomley, Prof. Roland Bain ton of Yale Divinity School, an A. J. Muste as speakers. The Work shop which is to precede the con ference, beginning on June 23 an lasting through the morning of th 26th, will have George Houser Alfred Hassler, New York Regiona Secretary Howard Dean, and John Swomley as resource leaders.

On Friday night, when the Con ference itself begins, Raymond Wilson and John Swomley will dis cuss "What Should Be the Politica Emphasis of FOR Program Today? On Saturday night Prof. Bainton will speak on "What Should Be the Religious Emhpasis of FOR Pro gram Today?", and A. J. Muste wil preach the sermon on Sunday morning. Registrations and in quiries may be sent to Howard Dean at the National Office, and should be sent in promptly. Regis tration for the Workshop preceding the Conference will necessarily be limited.

Two noted theologians, both members of the FOR, Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette and Dr. Halford E. Luccock, will retire from the faculty of Yale University Divinity School in June.

Jottings

The graduating class of the University of the South's School of Theology (Sewanee) congratulated Dean James A. Pike of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York for declining an honorary degree because of the University's racial segregation policy.

Two Georgia legislators, David C. Jones and John D. Shepard, have denounced "South Pacific" as having "an underlying philosophy inspired by Moscow." The charge referred particularly, they said, to the song "You've Got to be Taught to Hate," which points out that intolerance is acquired from other people who are intolerant.

Protests by church officials and bodies have mounted over the death of the Rev. Whal-Il Pang, Korean church leader, who was beaten to death by an American lieutenant and three enlisted soldiers in Korea in December. The lieutenant was tried and found guilty, and sentenced to two years at hard labor and dismissal from the Army. Weeks after the crime the victim's family, living in a Pusan slum, had not been visited by anyone from the Army since, an Army spokesman explained, "no administrative procedures have been drawn" to handle this sort of thing.

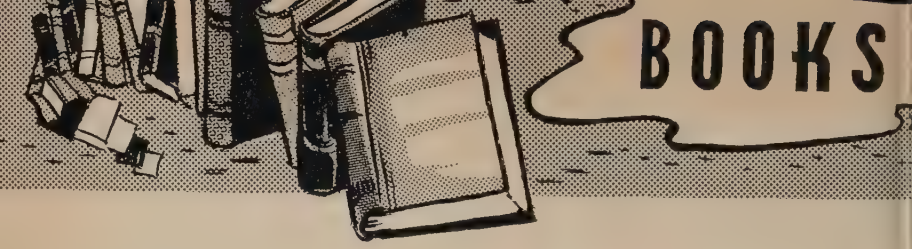
Two American bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and their wives have been denied permission to enter South Africa, where they were to head districts of their denomination.

The passport of the Rev. John Darr, Jr., was picked up in January at the request of the State Department when he returned from a trip on which he attended several Communist-sponsored peace conferences in Europe and made a tour of China. He has been associated in this country with a number of organizations that were widely considered to be Communist fronts.

A representative of CROP, the Christian Rural Overseas Program which collects not only money but commodities from farmers and others for relief shipment overseas, announced recently that "the plight of the helpless European refugees, roughly estimated at 11 millions, is beyond belief." Germany, Greece, Austria and Yugoslavia will receive major portions of CROP's $2 million worth of supplies in 1953.

A representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations recently declared that one out of every two persons in the world faces hunger as their lot in life.

Wilbur Hoff, FOR member, has declined an assistantship in the School of Public Health of the University of California because he would not sign the loyalty oath.



Evocative Study

The Devils of Loudun, by Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers, 1952. pp. 340, $4.00.

Lord Acton wrote that history should illuminate the mind rather than burden the memory. In *The Devils of Loudun* Aldous Huxley, a devoted Actonian, has written just this kind of history.

The story is one that might well have appealed to Huxley because it so closely parallels his own fictional *Gioconda Smile.* In it an average sensual man blunders from sin to sin, only to be "framed" at last, because of the malice he has aroused, and executed for a crime of which he is innocent.

In this book, however, the simple basic plot is embroidered on a closely woven fabric of statecraft and religion strangely evocative of Whittaker Chambers' *Witness.* For Urbain Grandier was not merely a parson falsely accused of witchcraft; he was a pawn in the fatal game by which Richelieu exterminated every possible trace of local government, replacing it by the absolute hegemony of Louis XIII. And this centralization of power was a means to a still further end —the Thirty Years' War, which while enriching the Cardinal, impoverished the French people and laid the groundwork for three centuries of Franco-German struggle.

The tactics of Richelieu will r pay much study. As head of t Church in France, the Cardinal w committed, needless to say, to fig against the Devil. Yet he put t state to the expense of maintainir in idleness seventeen hysteric women, simply in order to kee them continually "possessed," ar therefore, continually under exo cism. When we understand ho deeply the exorcist fears that l may *run out of demons,* we will l in a better position to understar why such staunch foes of commu nism as the Rockefeller and Ca negie Foundations spent over tw million dollars to maintain such center of Communist infestation a the Institute of Pacific Relation which is continually being invest gated, or shall we say, exorcise Equally instructive was the Car dinalists' acceptance of the heret cal doctrine that, duly constraine the Devil (or, in our case, the ex Communist) is bound to tell th truth.

Of equal interest is the strang document left by the Mother Supe rior of the convent, Jeanne de Anges. Like Chambers, she was a intelligent, highly exhibitionisti individual who had mastered th mechanics of conversion and th jargon of mysticism. Many spiritu ally susceptible persons have beer and doubtless will continue to be imposed upon by these strang

mixtures of one part St. Teresa to nine parts P. T. Barnum, who expose the dark nights of their souls to the full glare of the Klieg lights.

Chief among her victims was her successful exorcist, the famous mystic, Jean Joseph Surin, to whose strange and utterly gratuitous experiences Huxley devotes the last portion of his chronicle. Like many pacifists today, Surin stultified himself by acting as if the possessions were genuine, as if the Cardinalists believed their absurd mythology themselves. At long last, the kindness of Surin's superior delivered him from the trap into which he had fallen because he lacked that serpent-wisdom which is indispensable to true grace.

For this reviewer, *The Devils of Loudun* was the pacifist's book of the year.

—Selma von Haden

About Melville

Mariners, Renegades and Castaways, by C. L. R. James. Privately printed, 1953. 203 pages, Paper, $1.00.

C. L. R. James is a leading authority on Herman Melville and a social thinker and writer of distinction. In Melville's two great novels, *Moby Dick* and *Pierre*, he traces "a picture of the world in which we live, which is to this day unsurpassed." *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways* is a lucid, absorbing account of that picture, enlivened by frequent quotations from the books themselves.

The author credits Melville with foreseeing and coordinating in his stories of human personalities and their emotions, the world in which we live: a world of totalitarian nations, labor movements, colonial revolts, etc. Melville, he declares, "is not only the representative writer of industrial civilization. He is the only one that there is. In his great book the divisions and antagonisms and madnesses of an outworn civilization are mercilessly dissected and cast aside. . . . *Moby Dick* will either be universally burnt or be universally known in every language as the first comprehensive statement in literature of the conditions and perspectives for the survival of Western civilization."

The second part of the book is devoted to *Pierre*, "the finest and most profound study in existence of what the Freudians call the Neurosis." It is a novel about "the idea

Children and the War

Because of the volume of mail coming in about our special issue of FELLOWSHIP devoted to a survey of the effect of war tensions on children, the date of this issue has been postponed from June to July.

The special issue will be double FELLOWSHIP's usual size.

All regular subscribers will receive it as usual; additional copies will be priced at 35c each.

of the unconscious and particularly the sexual unconscious, the struggle between the unconscious and the need for disciplined behavior...." But, adds the author, 'Although he had anticipated Freud by fifty years, Melville is no Freudian." He is an enemy of the Freudians, for he sees "preoccupation with personality, this tendency to incest and homosexuality was not human nature but a disease, a horrible sickness rooted . . . in an unbearable sense of social crisis."

The book's final section, dealing with James' experiences on Ellis Island, is the most unusual and perhaps the most significant. (A native of Trinidad and a longtime opponent of Stalinism, he was denied U.S. citizenship on the grounds of previous Trotskyite associations and his authorship of such books as *World Revolution,* the *Rise and Fall of the Communist International, A History of Negro Revolt,* and *The Black Jacobins.*) His moving story of how human beings are treated on Ellis Island, his own experiences under guard while ill, and his description of America's immigration policy, are worth the price of the book.

—J. M.

Don't forget the special issue on Childr and War Tensions will appear in Jul

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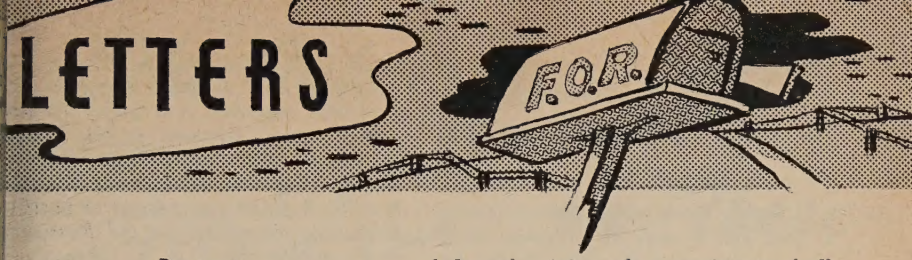

Protest

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is difficult to understand why you chose to report on a Catholic group in Buffalo who "urged President Truman not to exercise clemency" on behalf of the Rosenbergs, without mentioning that another Catholic group, and a well-known one, The Catholic Worker, signed a petition for clemency long before Fellowship and the "Liberals" had made a move in that direction.

Also, you might have indicated that some of the signers of the petition of December 31 included Catholics, instead of just mentioning "nonpacifists and numerous pacifists." I know this to be true since I signed it.

It is not a personal question, but one of fairness, and of being careful not to omit whatsoever can unite us. Is not that "fellowship"?

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP
New York, New York

Rebuttal

The Editor,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the spirit of reconciliation, I want to point out a few of the statements that it seems to me convey a false impression in the review of my book in March. First, I would refer the reader to such historical treatments of the subject as *American-Russian Relations*, by Prof. William A. Williams, (Rinehart and Co.), for a fuller discussion. Here they will find my evidence sustained. Mr. Swomley, you remember, objects because I say "a balanced opinion takes cognizance of all angles" and then I quote a letter on the origins of the Korean war from Sir John Pratt, former Adivser in Far Eastern Affairs for the British Government and head of the Far Eastern Section of the Ministry of Information. I do not agree with Pratt but to deny that Americans ought to read what he says as headlined in *Peace News* in England is to deny the very principles for which the Fellowship of Reconciliation stands. I used the letter to say that "we should learn to know and understand" the viewpoint of those from other nations. I fail to see how I could have used a better illustration.

Again Mr. Swomley objects because I say that the United States blocked a request from Russia for ten billion dollars in reparations from Germany, because such settlement would "have meant even greater American subsidies to Germany." But which is better—for us to spend over forty billions per year rearming as we are now doing, or to have aided Russia at the end of World War II by allowing her ten billions in reparations, even if it meant American subsidies to Germany? Remember, Germany inflicted destruction on Russia in World War II totaling some 135 billion dollars, as I state in my book, and the United States was not invaded at all.

I also believe I was correct on the fact that we could have settled the dispute over Berlin had we permitted Russia to control the currency in Berlin. This would, I believe, have prevented the millions we spent in the airlift operation. I think this can be documented.

Because of space restrictions I refrain from further comments on his review.

My book and its endorsements speak for themselves.

JEROME DAVIS
West Haven, Connecticut

If Jerome Davis will re-read my review he will find I made no objection whatever to presenting Sir John Pratt's letter. I suggested simply that the Pratt letter itself needs to be balanced by citing another point of view. This seemed especially true since Jerome Davis did not indicate in the book as he does in this letter his disagreement with Pratt.

Mr. Davis' comment on reparations is completely misleading.

He does not, for example, point out that Russia's $10 billion demand was not to be paid in money but included compulsory German labor for reconstruction in the USSR, the bulk removal of German factories and reparations from current output.

Both the U.S. and Britain at Potsdam rejected Russian claims on forced labor and current production but agreed to reparations of industrial plants in excess of German's peacetime needs.

Although the Soviet Union finally agreed to this arrangement at Potsdam, in her zone she "extracted all three types of reparations." Various estimates have been made of reparations the Soviet Union has taken, ranging upward from Ernest Bevin's "over 7 billion dollars." "The Soviet Union has consistently refused to account her for takings." ("Soviet Policy in Germany," *by Franz Neumann, Ph.D., May 1949* Annals of the American Academy.)

A reading of Jerome Davis' book reveals no facts about reparations such as these but only a defense of the Russian position about reparations. It is no service to the cause of peace to suggest that American approval of a policy of vengeance against Germany to the tune of 10 billion dollars would have prevented our present costly rearmament program. It is much sounder to suggest as pacifists have been doing that we aid Russia directly through the U.N.

JOHN SWOMLEY

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The Ink is still Wet on These-

THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND WAR

The Dun Commission report, made to the National Council of Churches a year or so ago, endorsed the use of the atom bomb if the "enemy" used it first, and if our government would use it "with all possible restraint." Concerned that this position is one taken by many Christians today, the Church Peace Mission asked a group of Christian pacifist theologians to formulate their position, and this intelligent and intelligible pamphlet is the result. Read it by all means.

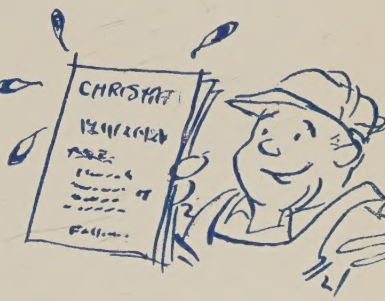
25c

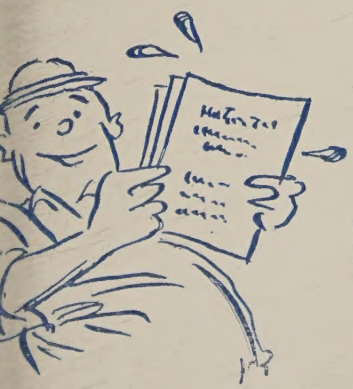
CHRISTIAN PACIFISM TODAY

By A. J. Muste

An analysis of the state of the world, the relation of e Christian pacifist movement to it, and what Christian acifism can do in these times.

15c





NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By George M. Houser

Going into a second printing, after the first 2,000 were sold out. This 64-page pamphlet gives the whole picture on South Africa, including historical background and an up-to-date report on the campaign to resist unjust laws.

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EISENHOWER ENDORSE
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President Expres es Hope Pacifist Magazine Will Double Circulati

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of Allied Force Europe, has told the editor of **Fellow** of his pleasure in the magazine's c lation and his hope that it will double during the coming year. The mee took place in the White House on Thursday, April 9.*

The President's endorsement is just one more indication of the import attached to **Fellowship** by those who are concerned about peace. No ter how well read you are in the general periodicals of the day, y missing something if you're not reading **Fellowship** every month, beca to keep up with peace it has to be **Fellowship.**

You can make both the President and **Fellowship's** editors happy helping in the current campaign to double the magazine's circulation. gest to your friends that they subscribe ($2) or subscribe for them. us the names and addresses of those you can't reach yourself, and get in touch with them. Send subscriptions to Fellowship, 21 Aud Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.

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You can save money by handing out copies of FELLOWSHIP yourself. *On bulk subscriptions (5 or more copies to one address) the price is $1.50 per year instead of $2.*

* Perhaps it should be noted, ju keep the record completely stra that FELLOWSHIP's editor met Pres Eisenhower along with 122 other ec of the Associated Church Press at organization's annual meetings in W ington. The statement about dou the circulation *was* addressed to entire group, and Mr. Eisenhowe ferred specifically to the total 6,7 circulation of the entire group, bu assumed that this was merely to time and that he really did mean apply to FELLOWSHIP, too.